

The
COLONIAL NEWSLETTER
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Submitting Material for Publication

We encourage our readers to consider submitting material on early North American numismatics to *CNL* for publication. In general, this includes coins, tokens, paper money, and medals that were current before the U.S. Federal Mint began operations in 1793. However, there are certain pieces produced after the 1793 date that have traditionally been considered part of pre-Federal numismatics and should be included. We cover all aspects of study regarding the manufacture and use of these items. Our very knowledgeable and friendly staff will assist potential authors to finalize submissions by providing advice concerning the text and help with illustrations. Submissions in either electronic or hard copy format, should be sent to the editor via the e-mail address given above or through the ANS at their postal address. Electronic text submissions should be formatted in Word with separate grayscale images.



Editorial

Thank goodness, it is finally here! After what has been one of the worst winters for snow and cold in recent memory spring is finally here. The days are growing longer and the sun is working hard to shrink the very last remnants of those ten-foot snowbanks (twenty in Boston and the Canadian Maritimes) down to nothing. It is a good feeling to know that we have survived. Not only does the coming of spring mark the end of winter's gloom and the reawakening of the natural world, but it also marks the beginning of a new year (our 55th) of *The Colonial Newsletter*.

In this issue the discussion of the mysterious Wood 33 continues (really, how could it ever end?). As readers will remember, in CNL-155, Jim Biancarosa made a case for rereading the legends of Wood 33, denying its classification as either an evasive or Blacksmith copper, and attributing them to Vermont. Parts of Jim's argument proved to be controversial (I for one still seriously doubt the Vermont connection) and inspired a rejoinder from Robert Leonard in CNL-156. He argued that, despite some peculiarities stemming from a relationship to the evasive series, based on metrology and finds, Wood 33 should indeed be treated as a form of North American Blacksmith copper. The Vermont attribution was dismissed on metrological and historical grounds.

All of this has now resulted in a new composite article by Jim Biancarosa, Jeff Rock, and John Lorenzo, which is at once a response to Robert's rejoinder and a presentation of

additional evidence. The whole situation became so exciting that our dedicated Contributing Editor, Phil Mossman, could not help but throw in a few of his own interesting observations. I must also confess that there are several notes added by your humble Editor as well. Wood 33 is such a fascinating copper variety—who can resist saying something about it?

In keeping with the evasive/Blacksmith theme that we have been having for the last few issues, the second article in CNL-157 takes a close look at the BRUTUS SEXTUS varieties of evasive coppers and suggests a possible political motive behind the use of this unusual legend in the 1770s and later. It would seem that there is more to the evasive copper phenomenon than simply the desire of their makers to avoid trouble from English laws against counterfeiting.

This issue also continues the ANS plate series. A new plate treats the Continental Currency "dollars" in the Society's collection while the Connecticut coppers plate includes Miller varieties 4.1-G to 5.1-H.1. The New Jersey coppers plate chronicles Maris 48-g to 54-k and a final plate details the Massachusetts Oak Tree shillings and sixpences from Noe 13 to 16.

Happy reading!

Oliver D. Hoover
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Two important colonial numismatic works available from the ANS:

New Jersey State Coppers by Roger S. Siboni, John L. Howes, and A. Buell Ish

As William Sheldon eloquently put it in *Penny Whimsy*,

Old copper, like beauty, appears to possess a certain intrinsic quality or charm... [with] an almost living warmth and personality not encountered in any other metal.... You see rich shades of green, red, brown, yellow, and even deep ebony: together not elsewhere matched in nature save perhaps in autumn leaves....

New Jersey State Coppers shows that never were these words more true than in the case of the coins struck for New Jersey by Thomas Goadsby, Albion Cox, Walter Mould, and Matthias Ogden. By way of introduction, the authors fully discuss the often tumultuous history of the New Jersey copper coinage and its creators alongside the equally compelling story of the men, like Dr. Edward Maris, who first appreciated the "living warmth and personality" of the coins and formed the great collections of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Every known New Jersey die variety is presented in minute detail with lavish enlarged full-color illustrations, condition censuses, as well as commentary on die states and other notable features.

The authors also include such supplementary material as the original documents related to the eighteenth-century coining venture, imitations created for the collector market in the nineteenth century, as well as suggestions for developing a personal collection. *New Jersey State Coppers* will surely become the primary tool for the study of this coinage and the basis for deepening the understanding and appreciation of its charm as old copper.

From Crime to Punishment: Counterfeit and Debased Currencies in Colonial and Pre-Federal America by Philip L. Mossman

Ever since coinage was developed in ancient Lydia, an element of society has sought to debase the coin of the realm for personal gain not only by counterfeiting, but also by shaving away precious metal. Currency debasement was not confined to the proletariat since throughout history various monarchs increased their royal revenues, or seigniorage, by reducing the quality of the coins' specie content or its weight standard. The current text follows closely the course of royal English copper coinages whose high potential profit made them an ideal prey for counterfeiters. These forgeries flowed freely into the colonies where they overwhelmed, and eventually collapsed, the small change medium but not before various states sought to correct the evil of this imported copper trash.

Great attention is paid to Great Britain's mercantilistic policies which shaped the character of the currency in the North American colonies where chronic hard money shortages encouraged counterfeit coinages of all stripes whose actual manufacture and circulation is examined in great detail. Colonists further sought to expand their monetary pool by printing bills of credit to meet the exigencies of the French and Indian Wars. This new paper currency likewise became the target for forgery and a battle royal ensued between the colonial treasurers and bands of counterfeiters as they competed to outsmart each other. But as "the weed of crime bears bitter fruit," many counterfeiters were apprehended and punished for their evil deeds.

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WOOD 33: A RESPONSE TO THE REJOINDER

by
Jim Biancarosa; Palm Beach, FL
Jeff Rock; San Diego, CA
and
John Lorenzo; Midland Park, NJ

The following article is a composite response by Jim Biancarosa and Jeff Rock with contributions by John Lorenzo to Robert D. Leonard's "This Orphan Needs A Home: GEORIUVS. III. VTS/ BRITI": A Rejoinder" in *The Colonial Newsletter* 156 (pp. 4221–4229), which was itself a response to Jim Biancarosa's "This Orphan Needs A Home: GEORIUVS. III. VTS / BRITI" in *The Colonial Newsletter* 155 (pp. 4191–4198). The discussion is further supplemented by the observations of CNL's Contributing Editor, Philip L. Mossman, and occasional notes by the Editor.

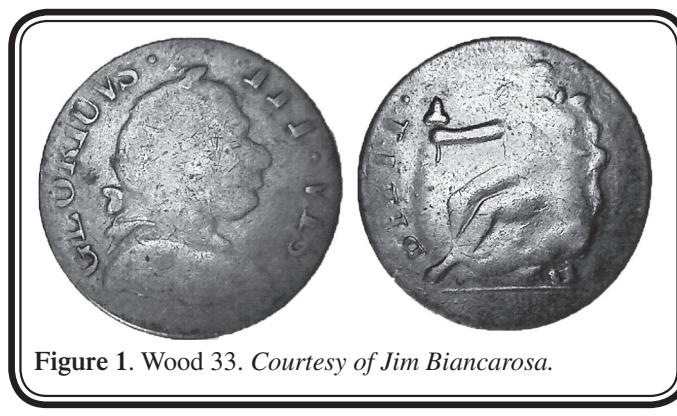


Figure 1. Wood 33. Courtesy of Jim Biancarosa.

Jim: I must first thank Mr. Robert D. Leonard for all the work he has done. I found his article to be very informative and interesting, but as readers might have guessed, I do not agree with some of his conclusions. Still, I welcome his interest in my little orphan—Wood 33 (Fig. 1).

Jeff: The discussion of evasion and Blacksmith coppers on page 4221 seems somewhat oversimplified. Mr. Leonard places all evasions into one group, those with truly evasion legends, which tend to be of lighter weight and more crudely made. The dies from these directly link to other coppers, including pieces of historical nature that are generally on better weight planchet stock—not regal weight, but better than the counterfeit halfpennies in circulation. He also takes a very small sample (the ANS evasion collection) to compare with Wood 33, but compares all the Vermont coppers with Wood 33 (p. 4228) instead of just the later 1788-dated issues, which are always much lighter. However, neither of these critiques seriously affects his general argument for retaining Wood 33 in the Canadian Blacksmith series.

In the first paragraph of page 4222, Mr. Leonard argues that Blacksmith coppers did not circulate in Great Britain as none appeared in the British Museum collection before 1966. This proves little, since the British Museum also had very few evasion and counterfeit halfpence in its cabinet, mainly because previously they were considered beneath the dignity of the museum to collect. This view has since been rectified and more have been acquired. There are in fact examples of Blacksmith coppers (including Wood 33) in some late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century private British collections, such as that of Captain Francis Cokayne (Fig. 2).

Mr. Leonard is also aware of the Wood 33 in D. T. Batty's collection.¹ However, these are also poor evidence for British circulation since the collections in question were large and their owners easily could have imported the Blacksmith coppers from North America.

Jim: I do not understand the disagreement about the reading of the legend on page 4222. The photos in my first article seemed very clear. The E in GEORIUVS (Fig. 3) was recognized by everyone I spoke to. The VTS is another story. It is not as clear as the E, but John Lorenzo has confirmed the crossbar of the T on a specimen in his collection.² The reading GEORIUVS III VTS has been accepted for the forthcoming edition of the Charlton catalogue.

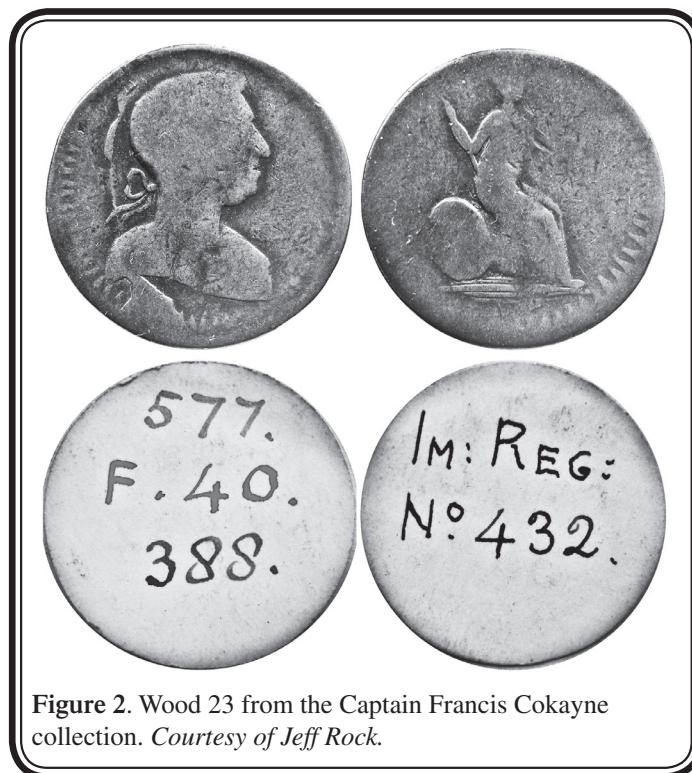


Figure 2. Wood 23 from the Captain Francis Cokayne collection. *Courtesy of Jeff Rock.*



Figure 3. Enlargements of Wood 33 obverse showing the E in GEORIUVS (left) and VTS (right). *Courtesy of Jim Biancarosa.*

Phil: I read the obverse legend as: GEORIUVS•III•VIS and the reverse as BRITI•. On the obverse, the bottom serifs of the two Is in both GRORGIVS and VIS are evident. On the reverse, there is an I on either side of the remnant of a T, without a serif, as seen in the fourth letter of BRITI. This gives us four identical Is and one presumed T. Right? Then how does the central serif-

1 D. T. Batty, *Batty's Descriptive Catalogue of the Copper Coinage of Great Britain, Ireland, British Isles, and Colonies* (Manchester, 1878): 428, No. 4192. This example is cited by Robert Leonard on page 4229.

2 [For what it is worth, I read the E fairly clearly in Fig. 3, but remain agnostic about the crossbar of the T in Fig. 4. The latter could be an artifact of edge filing or die rust. -Ed].

bearing letter in VIS now become a serif-less T, thus making a putative VTS? Supposing a faint upper crossbar is evident on some examples of the T in the presumed VTS, how does one explain why the bottom serif, such as in a known T, as in BRITI, is lacking? What does VTS mean anyway? Certainly not Vermont.

Jim: The lack of illustrations in the discussion of the legends and the relationship to evasion copper varieties listed by Atkins³ makes it difficult to follow Leonard's argument. I have therefore included images of Atkins 273 and 283 (Fig. 4), evasion copper varieties that he cites as possible prototypes for Wood 33. However, I maintain that the relationship between Wood 33 and the evasion coppers is not very close. They do not share any letter punch similarities and they are of a very different style. Most evasions are made to look worn with shallow, silhouette-like busts, usually crisp lettering, and occasionally a raised rim. On Wood 33 the bust is the high point and the edges are rounded or filed down. None of the letter tops are clearly visible. The female figure on the reverse is very different as well. Not only is she holding what appears to be a clover leaf, but there is no sign of Britannia's usual spear. It also seems possible that the female figure is holding a cornucopia. No other evasion or counterfeit halfpenny features such a device.⁴

Mr. Leonard seems to express doubt about the 7 numeral that I reported as being visible in the exergue on some specimens. This feature is illustrated in Figure 5 and has been confirmed on other specimens by John Lorenzo. The case for reading this numeral as the final digit of 1797 rather than 1787 based on the GLORIOVS IER. VIS legends of Atkins 274–287 depends entirely on whether one accepts these evasion copper varieties as the model for Wood 33.

Jeff: Regarding the North American circulation evidence, Robert Leonard marshaled all the known facts, dates, and finds—and added some



Figure 4. Evasion coppers Atkins 273 (above) and 283 (below). Courtesy of Jim Biancarosa.

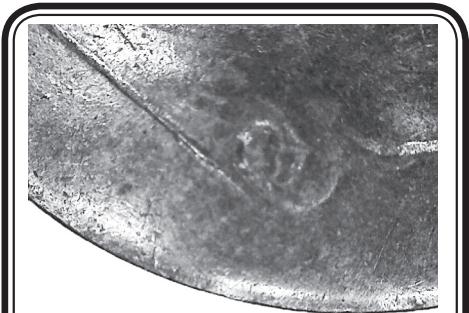


Figure 5. Enlargement of Wood 33 showing faint 7 in exergue. Courtesy of Jim Biancarosa.

3 James Atkins, *The Tradesmen's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1892).

4 [Note the cornucopia-bearing personification of Trade on penny and halfpenny tokens imported into Lower Canada in the period c. 1817–1837, although she holds a scale instead of a clover leaf and sits on a bale rather than a shield. See Charlton LC-46–LC47D and LC-47G–LC-48B. -Ed.]

information I did not know about either, such as the Wood 33s found in two 1837 hoards. This date is critical, because it puts them at the tail end of what we would consider the Blacksmith token years and right at the time that the U.S. Hard Times tokens were being struck. I still think Wood 33 was probably produced on the American side of the border, and exported to Canada and that an examination of the records of larger token manufactures may yield a clue.⁵ Unfortunately no one seems to want to do that kind of work. I do not think Wood 33 is a Vermont issue, nor do I think it is a pure evasion copper—but it is not a typical Blacksmith copper either.

Jim: In the third paragraph of page 4224, Mr. Leonard argues that Wood 34 and Wood 35 are counterfeits of Wood 33. However, I think that they actually represent early attempts at Wood 33 that were not acceptable due to the reversal of the devices (i.e. the head faces left instead of right and Britannia faces right instead of left).⁶ Wood 34 is almost a mirror image of Wood 33. Perhaps after the coiners struck the first few examples of Wood 34 they saw that the devices were backwards, stopped, filed down the dies, and made Wood 33. This scenario might explain why Wood 34 and Wood 35 are so rare now.

Looking at the ordinal numerals on Wood 34 and Wood 33, we can see that on both coppers they are missing a right serif. The ribbons and bows of the head are similar and oddly depicted on both varieties. On the reverses of both, the female figure also holds a clover—a feature found on no other copper of the late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century, to my knowledge. These similarities suggest to me that the dies for Wood 34 and Wood 35 were cut by the same hand. It seems somewhat less probable that Wood 34 was a copy of Wood 33. With a wide variety of potential regal, counterfeit, and evasion copper models to choose from, why would counterfeiters seize upon Wood 33 and go so far as to replicate the ordinal numerals with their missing serifs?⁷

Jeff: My view has not changed much based on either the Biancarosa or the Leonard article. I still think Wood 33 was probably made in the United States (or Lower Canada)—the planchets are completely unlike any of the Blacksmith pieces we assume were made in Canada. I think the 1830s on up to the Hard Times tokens period is right period. Oliver Hoover originally argued for

5 [This possibility is also implied by some of the metrological evidence in Oliver Hoover, "Blacksmith Copper Metrology," *The Colonial Newsletter* 155 (August 2014): 4199-4213 and the case of Wood 29. -Ed.]

6 After making tokens for my former coin club I have become familiar with some of the same amateur mistakes made on Wood 33, 34, and 35. When I recognize the missteps in the production of these varieties, I get a smile on my face, knowing some of what they went through.

7 [From my perspective there is a slightly troubling chicken-and-the-egg quality to both arguments, but on the whole, Wood 34 seems rather cruder than Wood 33, which lends some attractiveness to the counterfeit hypothesis. On the other hand, Phil Mossman points out to me that "typically only successful coinages are copied or counterfeited. It is irrational to counterfeit something whose identity is obscure." -Ed.]

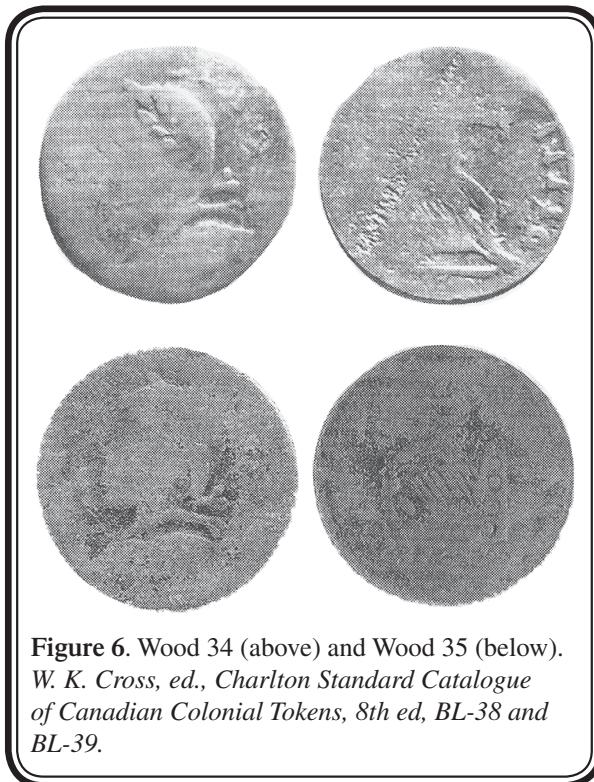


Figure 6. Wood 34 (above) and Wood 35 (below).
W. K. Cross, ed., *Charlton Standard Catalogue of Canadian Colonial Tokens*, 8th ed, BL-38 and BL-39.

the IERVIS evasion as a model.⁸ The obverse design of this evasion is far too similar to that of Wood 33 to be coincidental. This relationship is a major problem for the identification of Wood 33 as an early quasi-official coinage for Vermont. After all, who would propose a new coinage using a counterfeit piece as a template? The reverse is a mystery since it is similar to nothing in any series. I also doubt that Wood 34 and Wood 35 are imitations of Wood 33—or prototypes or mistakes made at the beginning. They appear to me to exceptionally crude counterfeit British (Irish in the case of Wood 35) halfpence. Instead, I suspect that they were adopted into the Blacksmith series because they could be sold to collectors more easily and for higher prices with this designation. This is the same reason that some evasions came to be described as "Pennsylvania Bungtowns."⁹

John and Jim: Robert Leonard's graphs suggest that the metrology of Wood 33 conforms closely to that of the Blacksmith series rather than to the weights of evasion or Vermont coppers. This is the same view taken by John Lorenzo, but the situation is probably more nuanced than this. Not all evasion series were struck to the same weight standard, nor were all Vermont series, as Jeff Rock has mentioned. Likewise, the metrological evidence for various Blacksmith series gives the impression that there may have been two or three weight standards involved—one of seems to have been based on the U.S. large cent.¹⁰ The weight question remains open in my mind, but to expand on the data available for study I include the following table of Wood 33s in my collection with full metrological and provenance information as well as other notable features.

Table 1: Wood 33 in the Jim Biancarosa Collection

Inv. no.	Notable Features	Grade	Source	Diameter	Weight	Rust/File Marks
W33-01	Faint top of T in VTS	VG-10	Florida	26.51 mm	5.7 g	Obverse and reverse die rust
W33-02	Faint 7 in exergue	VG10	New York City	26.60 mm	5.9 g	Obverse and reverse die rust
W33-03	Uniface strike	VG-8	Upstate New York	26.54 mm	5.9 g	Some obverse die rust
W33-04	Damaged	F-12	Upstate New York	26.79 mm	6.1 g	Obverse die rust
W33-05	7 in exergue	F-12	Upstate New York	26.57 mm	5.9 g	Some obverse die rust
W33-06	Cornucopia	F-12	Upstate New York	26.64 mm	6.3 g	Obverse die rust
W33-07	Faint top of T in VTS	F-12	New Jersey	26.63 mm	5.9 g	Some obverse die rust
W33-08	Reverse clashed dies	VF-20	Canada	26.60 mm	6.2 g	Some obverse die rust
W33-09	R in BRITI	VF-20	New Brunswick	26.51 mm	6.1 g	Some obverse die rust
W33-10	R in BRITI	VG-10	Florida	26.47 mm	5.6 g	No die rust
W33-11	GEORIUVS	G-4	Long Island	26.59 mm	5.7 g	Obverse die rust
W33-12	Cornucopia	VF-20	Michigan	26.68 mm	6.1 g	No die rust
W33-13	Faint top of T in VTS	F-12	?	26.58 mm	6.1 g	Obverse die rust

8 Oliver Hoover, "Wood 33: An Evasion Copper in North America," *The Colonial Newsletter* 137 (August 2008): 3279–3288.

9 Jeff Rock, "Evasion Coppers 'Frenchified,'" *C4 Newsletter* 21.2 (Summer 2013): 9.

10 Oliver Hoover, "Blacksmith Copper Metrology," *The Colonial Newsletter* 155 (August 2014): 4199–4213

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Inv. no.	Notable Features	Grade	Source	Diameter	Weight	Rust/File Marks
W33-14	Almost full R	F-12	Michigan	26.62 mm	6.1 g	Little obverse die rust
W33-15	Strong crossbar R	F-15	California	26.54 mm	5.3 g	No die rust
W33-16	Late die state	F-15	California	26.63 mm	5.8 g	No die rust
W33-17	BRITI	F-12	California	26.50 mm	5.9 g	No die rust
W33-18	Poorly preserved	PR-1	Toronto	26.63 mm	5.9 g	No die rust
W33-19	Remnants of T	VF-20	Massachusetts	26.65 mm	6.1 g	Obverse die rust
W33-20	Rosetta	VF-25	New York	26.59 mm	5.7 g	File marks
W33-21	Cornucopia	VF-25	Massachusetts	26.64 mm	6.1 g	Obverse die rust
W33-22	Faint top of T in VTS	F-15	Massachusetts	26.46 mm	6.1 g	No die rust
W33-23	Late die state	F-15	Upstate New York	26.57 mm	6.1 g	Obverse die rust
W33-24	Raised metal above head	VF-20	California	26.55 mm	5.7 g	No die rust
W33-25	Dented	G-4	Ontario	26.00 mm	5.5 g	?
W33-26	Both feet of middle I	VF-25	Nova Scotia	26.73 mm	6.3 g	Obverse die rust
W33-27	VTS	F-15	Upstate New York	26.66 mm	6.0 g	Obverse die rust
W33-28	Brick on BRITI	VF-20	Ontario	26.66 mm	6.2 g	Obverse die rust
W33-29	Overstruck	VG-10	Massachusetts	26.65 mm	5.9 g	?
W33-30	VTS / R / I no right foot	F-12	Pennsylvania	26.61 mm	6.2 g	Obverse die rust
W33-31	Hint of VTS	VG-10	Ontario	26.61 mm	5.9 g	?
W33-32	Dent at 12 o'clock	VF-20	Ireland	26.43 mm	6.0 g	
W33-33	Bent, lightest	F-12	Upstate New York	26.43 mm	5.2 g	
W33-34	Double edge, large flan	VG-10	Upstate New York	26.82 mm	5.9 g	
W33-35	Almost all E, R, part of Ts	VF-25	Ontario	26.64 mm	5.9 g	File marks
W33-36	Cornucopia	VF-30	Upstate New York	26.63 mm	5.8 g	File marks
W33-37		F-12	Michigan	26.59 mm	6.3 g	Obverse die rust
W33-38	Both Ts, die crack	VF-20	Upstate New York	26.49 mm	5.5 g	Obverse and reverse die rust
W33-39	Middle I has 2 serifs, both Ts	F-12	Michigan	26.59 mm	6.3 g	
W33-40	E and R.	F-15	California	26.59 mm	6.0 g	Obverse die rust
OS 029	Obverse rim?	VG-8	Ontario	26.50 mm	6.0 g	Rust or wear
OS 030	Faint top of T in VTS	F-12	Ontario	26.60 mm	6.0 g	Obverse die rust
OS 031	Faint T IN BRITI	F-12	Ontario	26.51 mm	5.8 g	Obverse and reverse die rust
W33c/s	Harp counterstamp	F-12	California	26.60 mm	6.0 g	

While I agree up to a point with Mr. Leonard in his conclusion that purchases in the twenty-first century cannot paint a full picture of circulation, they do hint at what was.¹¹ Several specimens of Wood 33 are known with an obverse counterstamp depicting a harp and two flowers (?) with the prominent initials P*D (Fig. 7). Isolating the source of the counterstamp could go far to clarify the question of Wood 33's origin.¹²

Phil: As Jim Biancarosa has already noted, as you examine the rim and periphery of the coin, the detail of the tops of the letters is consistently lost. Could these have been engraved on a steel die whose surface was tapered toward the edge, making it lower than the central plane? Thus the bottom of an engraved letter etc., facing the center would be more deeply sunk into the die while the upper aspect of the letter was very poorly reproduced on the die and hence faint on the struck coin. This makes me think of the situation on a lapped die where shallowly impressed features are lost. The punches themselves were quite amateurish and we are not dealing with skilled engravers, like those operating in Birmingham. These observations seem to take us out of Birmingham countryside to North America, perhaps New York City. The planchets, on the other hand, are a different story. They are well made without defects and are of consistent weight; Jim Biancarosa's forty-four examples average 91.51 ± 4.01 grains (5.93 ± 0.26 g). My six coins are 93.9 ± 1.59 grains (from Upstate New York and northern Maine). Mike Ringo had several dozen from New York and, in 1994, I bought his best one (94.7 grains). Compare these weights with those in Table 6.3 in *From Crime to Punishment* and Table 31 in *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation*;¹³ the only coinages whose weight statistics compare to the Wood 33s are NOVA CONSTELLATIOs and 1773 Virginia halfpence. All of this suggests to me that the coins were locally-made by amateurs on quality imported planchets.

Jeff: The best thing an article can do stir up debate and controversy that then leads to further research. Even if a theory is proven wrong, or not adopted by other authors, it has provided an important service by spurring collectors to reexamine their coins, think about the issues, look back into the historical record, and develop an alternative scenario—maybe even more than one.

Phil: Well, I like Wood 33s, their ticks, fleas and all! For years, I have been on the verge of writing my ideas about them. Without trying, I found several in Maine from junk boxes, antique stores, etc. The only store-bought one was from Mike. This northern tier provenance

11 [It is a little odd that none of the Wood 33 specimens in the table have a Vermont source if one really wants to press the Vermont attribution -Ed.]

12 [While it is fairly clear that Wood 33 circulated in the Eastern United States and in Lower Canada, the harp symbol of the counterstamp and the Irish provenance of one Wood 33 in the Biancarosa collection are tantalizing. Is it possible that Wood 33s could have circulated in Ireland before it came to North America? The fact that there are at least two (one each in the Biancarosa and Rock collections) and possibly more examples of Wood 33 with this counterstamp seems to imply that they were actually part of the circulation pool where they were counterstamped and that they were specifically targeted—perhaps because they had lost whatever value they had possessed originally. -Ed.]

13 Philip L. Mossman, *From Crime to Punishment: Counterfeit and Debased Currencies in Colonial North America* (New York, 2013): 166; *ibid.*, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* (New York, 1993): 208–210.



Figure 7. Wood 33 with harp/flower and P*D counterstamp. Courtesy of Jeff Rock.

suggest a local source and circulation. I applaud and encourage those contributors who are really studying this elusive series in depth and hope they tolerate my sophomoric conclusions: namely a domestic token, manufactured north of the 45th parallel by unskilled individuals and struck on high-quality planchets imported from Birmingham or a like area. I see nothing to suggest a Vermont source.

P.S. this dialogue reminds me of *CNL-108* with its discussion of the Stepney Hoard. I would promote more conversation of this type.

Jim: I am pleased that my original article brought about some new interest in Wood 33 and inspired Mr. Leonard to write his rejoinder. While we may not agree, we have given the reasons for our disagreement, leaving it up to readers to accept or reject them. I do think our articles have added to my orphan's trip home. Unfortunately, there is no smoking gun in the case of Wood 33 and we will probably never know the full story of this copper series. Still, when we work together and continue the discussion, there may come a day when we will find a home for my little friend.

ET TU BRUTE? BRUTUS AND MEANING ON EVASIVE HALFPENCE

by
Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario

A variety of famous historical personages are named (and sometimes depicted as well) on the evasive copper halfpence struck in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These include the likes of the Anglo-Saxon king, Alfred the Great (871-899), the French king, Louis XVI (1774-1792), and the English playwright, William Shakespeare. The names of these and many other individuals appear in the place of the name and title of the ruling King George III as a means of skirting English laws against counterfeiting halfpence, which became a criminal offence in 1742. While a bust suspiciously similar to that found on regal halfpence (usually left-facing in imitation of the coins of George III's predecessor, George II) might appear on the obverse of an evasive halfpenny and a seated figure remarkably like that of Britannia on regal halfpence might appear on the reverse, the legend naming someone other than the reigning king was enough to avoid a charge of counterfeiting.¹

The majority of the names are those of Medieval and Renaissance English historical and cultural figures or contemporary English politicians and heroes of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. However, some names drawn from Roman antiquity also appear. The ancient Roman name Brutus occurs as part of the following legend varieties catalogued by Alan V. Judd (A. B. Cobwright) under the pseudonym of Malachy Greensward (Fig. 1):²

BRUTUS SEXTUS / BEL*ONA (B.0010/B.0070)
BRUTUS SEXTUS / BRITANNIA (B.0010/B.0375, B.0010/B.0470, B.0020/B.0470, B.0020/
B.0450, B.0030/B.0620, B.0050/B.0375, B.0050/B.0470)
BRUTUS SEXTUS / BRITANS NIAS (B.0010/B.0820, B.0050/0820)
BRUTUS SEXTUS / BRITONS RULE (B.0010/B.0940, B.0050/B.0940)
BRUTUS SEXTUS / BRITANNIA RULES (B.0030/B.0620)
BRUTUS SEXTUS / DELECTATRUS (B.0010/D.0060, B.0020/D.0060, B.0040/D.0070, B.0050/
D.0060)
BRUTUS SEXTUS / MUSIC * CHARMS (B.0030/M.0040)
BRUTUS SEXTUS / NORTH WALES (B.0010/N.0050, B.0020/N.0160)
BRUTUS SEXTUS / PAX PLA CID (B.0030/P.0020)

The use of the name Brutus on these evasive issues raises two interesting questions:

1) Which Brutus is being referred to by the legend?

and

2) What meaning—if any was intended—should be derived from the use of Brutus' name on evasive halfpence?

1 Philip L. Mossman, *Money of the American Colonies and Confederation* (New York, 1993): 122–123; Philip L. Mossman, *From Crime to Punishment: Counterfeit and Debased Currencies in Colonial North America* (New York, 2013): 117.

2 Malachy Greensward, *A Journey Through the Monkalonkian Rain Forests in Search of the Spiney Fubbaduck* (Bramcote, 1993).

Will the Real Brutus Please Stand Up?

Perhaps the most obvious candidate for the Brutus of the evasive halfpence is Marcus Junius Brutus Caepio (85–42 BC) (Fig. 2), who went down in infamy as the friend of Julius Caesar who organized the plot to assassinate him on the Ides of March, 44 BC. Anyone with even the remotest exposure to ancient Roman history or to the plays of William Shakespeare is (and was) likely to have heard of this Brutus and his role in the watershed event of the late Roman Republic.

A second possibility is that the Brutus in question is Brutus of Troy (Fig. 3), a mythological hero apparently invented in the ninth century AD to explain the etymology of the geographical name, Britannia.³ According to traditions that evolved over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries BC, this Brutus was a grandson or great-grandson of Aeneas, the Trojan hero who was considered the ultimate ancestor of the Roman people. After causing the deaths of his parents,

the young Brutus was exiled from Italy. After many adventures in Greece, North Africa, and

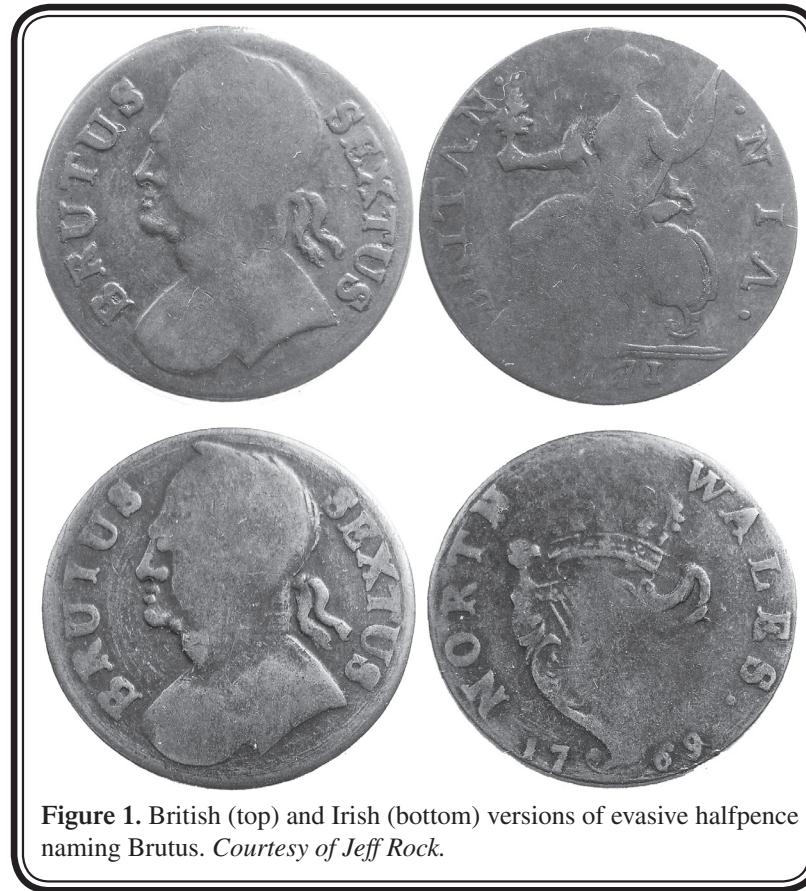


Figure 1. British (top) and Irish (bottom) versions of evasive halfpence naming Brutus. Courtesy of Jeff Rock.

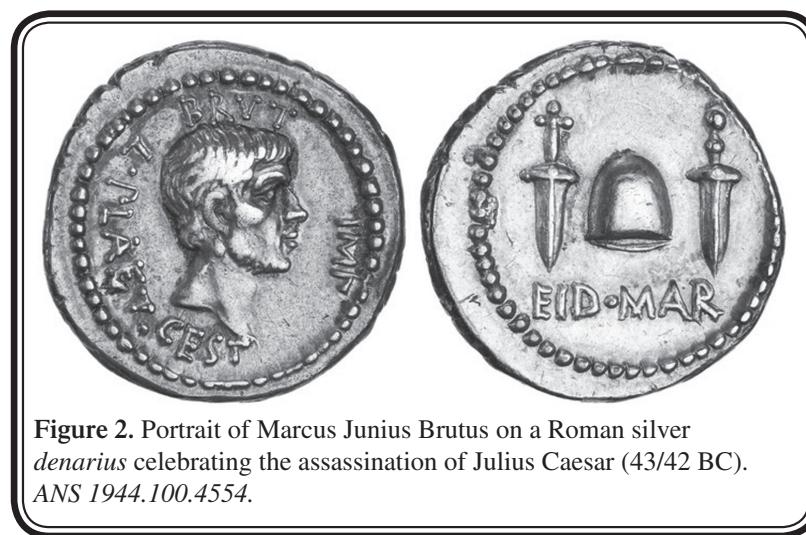


Figure 2. Portrait of Marcus Junius Brutus on a Roman silver denarius celebrating the assassination of Julius Caesar (43/42 BC). ANS 1944.100.4554.

³ He first appears in the *Historia Brittonum* ("History of the Britons"), which is usually attributed to the ninth-century Welsh monk, Nennius.

Gaul (modern France), he took to the sea with a band of other exiled Trojans and conquered the great island known as Albion. After defeating the giants who inhabited the island, Brutus is said to have renamed Albion as Britannia in his own honor (the first u in Brutus and the first i in Britannia were considered interchangeable in this forced etymology).⁴

The identification of the Brutus of the coins with this Trojan Brutus is attractive since there is an obvious British connection that is lacking in Caesar's assassin. The story of Brutus of Troy enjoyed great popularity and is likely to have been familiar to many Englishmen in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It was treated as historical fact in *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland* (1577) and remained such to many people as late as the early twentieth century.⁵ Indeed, it is still possible to see the supposed stone upon which Brutus stepped when he disembarked from his ship at Totnes, Devon (Fig. 4).⁶

A third possibility to be entertained is that the Brutus in question is neither the Trojan Brutus nor the killer of Julius Caesar, but rather another famous Brutus—Lucius Junius Brutus, who is credited with the foundation of the Roman Republic in 509 BC. The main source for the story of this Brutus comes from the *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* ("Books from the Foundation of the City") of Titus Livius (Livy), which chronicle the story of Rome from its mythical beginnings down to 9 BC. According to this account,⁷ Lucius Junius Brutus was a nephew of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the haughty Etruscan king of Rome. Brutus already harbored resentment against Superbus for ordering the execution of his brother and other leading men in Rome, but when it was revealed that Lucretia, a kinswoman of Brutus, had been raped by the son of the king, Brutus could take no more. After Lucretia reported the crime to Brutus and his associates she promptly seized a dagger and killed herself to prevent her victimization from becoming a stain on the honor of her family. Brutus, taking up this same dagger, then swore vengeance and led a successful revolt of the Roman people against Tarquinius Superbus and his powerful family.



Figure 3. Brutus of Troy depicted in an imagined numismatic woodcut published in the sixteenth-century *Promptuarii Iconum Insigniorum*.



Figure 4. The Brutus Stone of Totnes.

4 The fullest account of Brutus of Troy comes from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* ("History of the Kings of Britain") written in c. 1136.

5 See, for example, the remarkable argument for a Trojan source behind prehistoric British culture in E. O. Gordon, *Prehistoric London: Its Mounds and Circles* (London, 1914): 4–5, 97–98, 106–107.

6 The tradition regarding this stone (possibly a Medieval boundary marker) goes back at least to 1697, when it is mentioned in John Prince's *The Worthies of Devon*. See Theo Brown, "The Trojans in Devon," *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 87 (1955): 68–69.

7 Livy 1.54.1–2.7.4.

With the king deposed and the Tarquinii exiled from Rome, Brutus established a republican constitution for the city-state. The new Roman Republic was governed by two annually elected consuls—one of which was Brutus in the first year—and a senate of 300 leading men of the *equites* ("knights") class. One of Brutus' first acts as consul was to compel the Romans to swear an oath never again to permit themselves to be ruled by kings. A struggle against the Tarquinii, who plotted to return and restore the Etruscan kingship in Rome, soon ensued. First the Tarquinii tried to bribe several important Romans in order to gain entry to the city, but the conspiracy was detected and the traitors were executed. The episode of the Tarquinian conspiracy was especially hard on Brutus, for two of his sons were implicated in the plot. However, as his love for his country and its republican institutions transcended the love of family, he sat by stoically and watched as his sons were severely beaten and then beheaded for their crimes.

When the conspiracy failed, the Tarquinius Superbus raised an army with assistance from the Etruscan city of Veii and began to march on Rome. His forces were met by Brutus and the Roman army at Silvia Arsia ("the Silvian Forest"). In the battle that ensued, Brutus and his Etruscan cousin, Tarquinius Aruns, charged each other and died, each upon the spear of the other. Despite the death of Brutus, the Roman infantry won the day at Silvia Arsia and the republic was saved from a return of the kings.

Needless to say, the dramatic story of Brutus, rife with its themes of personal sacrifice for the sake of country, became a patriotic literary chestnut for all ancient Romans—and for many republican, nationalist, and totalitarian ideologies of more recent vintage. Nevertheless, the Trojan Brutus still might seem a more probable candidate for the Brutus of the evasive halfpence. Lucius Junius Brutus, the founder of the Roman Republic, has about as little an obvious British connection as does his descendant, Marcus Junius Brutus, the killer of Caesar. However, the obverse legends of the evasive halfpence show that Lucius Junius Brutus is indeed the Brutus intended. In addition to the name BRUTUS, which stands in for the personal name of King George III (GEORGIUS) found on regal halfpence, the ordinal number of the king and his title (III REX) are replaced by SEXTUS on the evasive coppers. While at first this might appear to be a nonsense word replicating elements of REX, it is actually the Latin *praenomen* (personal name) meaning "the sixth."⁸ As it happens, this is the very *praenomen* borne by Lucretia's rapist and the immediate cause of Brutus' uprising against the Etruscan monarchy: Sextus Tarquinius. The inclusion of SEXTUS alongside BRUTUS makes the identification of Lucius Junius Brutus virtually impossible to avoid.

Further support is provided by two halfpenny tokens produced by the British Copper Company (Walthamstow, Essex) between 1809 and 1811 (Fig. 5).⁹ The undated token features the bearded head of Brutus clearly labeled as such and seems to be informed by the portrait of Lucius Junius Brutus found on silver *denarii* struck by Marcus Junius Brutus Caepio in 54 BC (Fig. 6). The 1811-dated halfpenny token, however, features a beardless laureate male head that should also be identified as Lucius Junius Brutus through its associated Latin legend, VINCIT AMOR PATRIÆ ("Love of the fatherland prevails"). This motto is derived from line 823 (*vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido*¹⁰) of book 6 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, the celebrated epic poem recounting the Trojan origin of the Romans and obliquely justifying the reign of the

8 The Romans were not especially original with their *praenomina* and many simply record birth order, i.e., Quintus (Fifth) Sextus (Sixth), Septimus (Seventh), Octavius (Eighth), Nonus (Ninth), and Decimus (Tenth).

9 Paul Withers and Bente R. Withers. *The Token Book* (Llanfyllin, 2010): 436, nos. 618-25 and 629.

10 "Let love of the fatherland prevail, and unmeasured desire for fame."

emperor Augustus.¹¹ The line occurs in reference to Lucius Junius Brutus when the hero Aeneas visits the Underworld and is shown the glorious future in store for his Roman descendants.

Brutus and Junius

Having shown that the Brutus of the evasive halfpence must be the founder of the Roman Republic, Lucius Junius Brutus, it becomes necessary to explain why he should be named on British evasive halfpence and depicted on a British token. Lucius Junius Brutus was a very popular figure to political philosophers of the Renaissance and Enlightenment, who often looked to republicanism as a cure for evils associated with absolute kingship. However, there may be a very specific English political context behind the naming of Brutus on the coins.

Beginning in 1769 and continuing until 1772, an anonymous polemicist now commonly identified as Sir Philip Francis wrote a series of open letters published in London's *Public Advertiser* under the pseudonym Junius (the names Lucius and Brutus are thought to have been used previously by the same individual).¹² These

letters were intended to inform the English public of their constitutional rights and attacked the ministry of Augustus Henry FitzRoy, the Duke of Grafton, which was seen as corrupt. The public indignation raised against Grafton was so great that Henry Sampson Woodfall, the



Figure 5. Lucius Junius Brutus on halfpenny tokens (c. 1809–1811) of the British Copper Company.



Figure 6. Lucius Junius Brutus (left) on a Roman silver *denarius* of Marcus Junius Brutus Caepio (54 BC). ANS 1944.100.3244.

¹¹ The engraver of the 1811 token actually adopted a version of the Virgil quote popularized by St. Augustine's *The City of God* (3.16.24 and 5.18.19) rather than the original line from the *Aeneid*.

¹² The original authoritative collection of the letters is *Junius: Stat nominis umbra* (London, 1772). On the identity of the writer, see Alan Frearson, "The Identity of Junius," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7.2 (September 1984): 211–227.

publisher of the *Public Advertiser*, was tried for libel in 1770. However, the jury returned a verdict of "guilty of printing and publishing only" and Woodfall resumed publishing the popular letters of Junius. The increasingly unpopular Grafton resigned his post as Prime Minister later the same year. Although the polemicist was successful in driving Grafton out of office, Junius was disappointed by his failure to convince King George III to purge corrupt officials from the administration. The king appointed Frederick North, the Second Earl of Guilford and cousin of the Duke of Grafton, as the new Prime Minister in 1770.

In 1773, Junius put down his pen forever, but his letters, with their emphasis on constitutionality, freedom of the press, and opposition to government corruption and royal cronyism struck a chord with political thinkers of the time that continued to reverberate into the early twentieth century. While Junius was still writing, at least twelve collected editions of his letters were printed before 1772, when Woodfall published an official collection complete with a dedication to the English people. Further editions of the Junius letters appeared in 1806 and 1812, which show that his views were still a matter of public interest when both the Brutus evasive halfpence and tokens were produced.

The letters of Junius were of great interest to defenders of the American colonies as they began to teeter on the brink of revolution. In 1769 and 1770, while Junius was still at work, Arthur Lee, the Virginian correspondent to Britain and France assumed the pseudonym Junius Americanus in order to make a case for the rights of the colonists in the London *Gazetteer* and the *Public Advertiser*. On the question of his imitator, the English Junius remarked that, "his American namesake is plainly a man of abilities, tho'...a little unreasonable."¹³ Despite this unreasonableness, Lee reprinted the Junius Americanus letters with other essays for American consumption in 1770 as part of his growing contribution to the literature of revolution.

Junius Brutus continued to have an American presence during and after the Revolution, although it is not always clear whether Lucius or Marcus is intended, or if the two are purposely conflated. The founder of the Republic and the tyrant-slayer were both appropriate for the political context.

A Salem privateer outfitted to attack British shipping before 1780 was christened *Junius Brutus* and sailed in an expedition against Tortola in 1782.¹⁴ This 20-gun ship did great damage to the 14-gun sloop brig HMS *Experiment* off the Virgin Islands, but was later captured by British relieving forces and towed to Halifax as a prize. Lucius Junius Brutus was also invoked by the by the Virgilian motto VINCIT AMOR PATRIÆ inscribed on silver medals awarded by Congress to three soldiers responsible for capturing the British spy, Major John André, in 1780 (Fig. 7).

From 1787 to 1790, an anonymous writer (probably Robert Yates) following the model of the earlier Junius, assumed the name of Brutus to criticize the proposed Constitution of the United States in the *New-York Journal, and Weekly Register*. Sixteen epistolary essays in total were penned by this American Brutus, challenging *The Federalist Papers* of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay that had been serialized in *The Independent Journal* and *The New York Packet* in 1786 and 1787.¹⁵ In the manner of the founder of the Roman Republic, the anti-Federalist Brutus was deeply concerned that the Constitution would give too much power

13 Michael Kammen, *A Rope of Sand* (Ithaca, 1968). The London Junius could not accept Lee's view that Parliament lacked any right to tax the colonies among other's.

14 George F. Tyson, Jr., *Powder, Profits & Privateers: A Documentary History of the Virgin Islands During the Era of the American Revolution* (Charlotte Amalie, 1977): 89-97.

15 The collected Anti-Federalist Papers can be found online at <http://www.thisnation.com/library/antifederalist/>. *The Federalist Papers* to which they respond are available online at <http://thomas.loc.gov/home/histdox/fedpapers.html>.

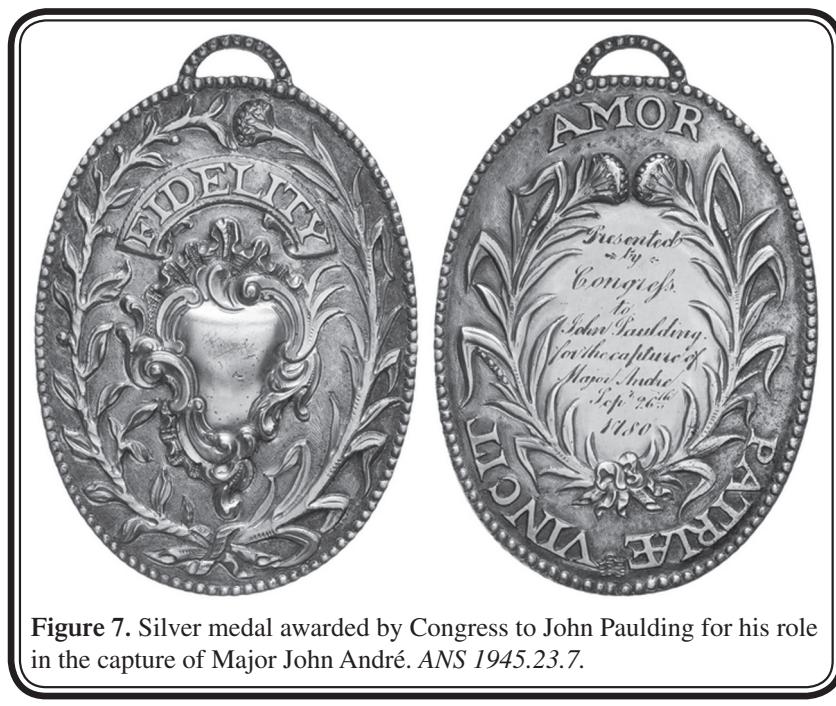


Figure 7. Silver medal awarded by Congress to John Paulding for his role in the capture of Major John André. ANS 1945.23.7.

to Congress and infringe on the rights of the Roman people like some latter-day Etruscan king. However, in the end the American Brutus could not exact an oath against the Constitution as he might have wished. By the beginning of 1791 all thirteen of the original Anglo-American colonies plus Vermont had ratified the Constitution and the Federal Era had begun.

Possibly under the influence of the American Brutus, and almost certainly aware of the earlier activities of the London Junius, between 1790 and 1793 the Scottish author Henry Mackenzie took up the name of Brutus for a series of polemical letters published in the *Edinburgh Herald*.¹⁶ As in the works of Junius, the Scottish Brutus discharged his invective primarily against corrupt officials and the power of central authority.

Although little faith is usually placed in the dates found on evasive halfpence, it seems highly coincidental that the earliest date known for the Brutus coppers is 1769, the very year that the London Junius began his popular assault on government corruption. The dates 1771 and 1772, the years when Junius was still at large, are also common, as are 1774 and 1775, the years of the Intolerable Acts and the outbreak of the American Revolution, when questions of republicanism, opposition to monarchy, and issues raised by both the London Junius and Junius Americanus loomed large in the mind of the English public. The only other date found on the Brutus evasive halfpence is 1792, the year that King Louis XVI was deposed and the Bourbon monarchy of France was replaced by the republican National Assembly. Although Great Britain supported the First Coalition against France and subsequently became a leading force in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars that followed, there was some popular sympathy for French republicanism, especially among the Scots and Irish—traditional sufferers at the hands of English kings.¹⁷ It is perhaps no accident that the 1792-dated variety features an Irish reverse (Fig. 8).

¹⁶ Henry Mackenzie, *The letters of Brutus. To certain celebrated political characters* (Dublin, 1791) and *Additional Letters of Brutus* (London, 1793).

¹⁷ R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: The Struggle* (Princeton, 1970): 459–464.



Figure 8. 1792-dated Brutus evasive halfpenny with Irish reverse.
Courtesy of Jeff Rock.

The continuing popular taste for Brutus and what he had come to mean thanks to his several avatars in the late eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth may be gauged not only by the reprinting of the works of the London Junius, but by the evolution of Junius Brutus as an English personal name. This name was given to the English father of the infamous John Wilkes Booth at his birth in 1796. Junius Brutus Booth (Fig. 9) was named by his father, a London lawyer who was—perhaps not very coincidentally—also a strong supporter of the American cause during the Revolution. He grew up to be a celebrated stage actor in London (1817–1821) before moving to Maryland and becoming recognized as one of the greatest actors in the United States (1821–1852). Ironically, although Junius Brutus Booth is known to have threatened to kill his friend, President Andrew Jackson, probably as a drunken joke in 1853,¹⁸ it was actually his son, John Wilkes Booth, who took the role of Brutus (apparently Marcus rather than Lucius) to heart. He assassinated President Abraham Lincoln during a performance at Ford's Theatre in Washington, D.C., on April 14, 1865, convinced that he had slain a greater tyrant than Caesar.

The name of Brutus was also assumed by the American artist, Junius Brutus Stearns (1810–1885), best known for his five-part series of paintings depicting important events in the life of George Washington produced between 1847 and 1856 (Fig. 10). Like the majority of the Junii and Bruti discussed here in the context of the late eighteenth century, Stearns also appears to have had the founder of the Roman Republic, rather than Caesar's killer in mind when he took up the name to sign his



Figure 9. Daguerreotype portrait of Junius Brutus Booth (c. 1850).
Library of Congress LC-USZ62-110129

¹⁸ The letter, in which Booth threatens to cut the President's throat and burn him at the stake if he does not pardon two convicted pirates, can be read on the Library of Congress blog at <http://blogs.loc.gov/loc/2009/07/library-helped-finger-another-would-be-assassin-named-booth/junius-booth-letter/>.



Figure 9. *Washington as Statesman at the Constitutional Convention* by Junius Brutus Stearns (1856).

works, for his given name had been Lucius Sawyer Stearns. The artist merely dropped the English middle name and the *paraenomen* of the Republic's founder that his parents had originally provided him and replaced them with the two and most popular remaining elements of Brutus' *tria nomina* (the three names normally belonging to Roman citizens). In short, trading Lucius for Junius Brutus was a bit of a classically-minded joke, but one that also gave Stearns an ideologically-charged name.

Conclusion

This brief analysis of the BRUTUS SEXTUS evasive halfpence shows while evasive coppers are often treated as the only slightly better made relatives of the frequently crude counterfeit halfpence, their makers were not just in it for the money, so to speak. The designers of the BRUTUS SEXTUS series were almost certainly educated people who knew their classics well enough to create a coin legend that could at once fit the expected arrangement of a regal halfpenny and clearly distinguish between Marcus Junius Brutus, Brutus of Troy, and Lucius Junius Brutus as the subject. Furthermore, the use of Lucius Brutus on the coppers and the timing of his use points to coin designers who paid close attention to public opinion, politics, and the newspaper personalities who increasingly had the power to inform both. Although the obverse legend gives the impression of a classical joke that might have given a laugh to the educated, they also served to remind the same educated individuals of Junius' fight against corruption in British government and the important ideals at stake on the eves of the American Revolutionary and French Revolutionary Wars. In short, these evasive coppers were counterfeits for the intelligentsia and were just as much vehicles of propaganda as the coins of the ancient Romans. No doubt other historical names used in the evasive series would reveal additional interesting political implications when fully investigated.

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY "DOLLARS" IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate I (Newman 3-G and Centennial Exposition Copies)

by
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Introduction

The mysterious Continental Currency coinage of 1776 has always been a subject of great interest and speculation among numismatists, chiefly due to the lack of documentary evidence about it. The records of the Continental Congress are completely silent about the coinage although several committees were formed to deal with other coin-related issues in 1776 and 1777 (i.e. the valuation of foreign coins in the United States and a proposal to establish a mint). Indeed, the coinage is so obscure that Robert Morris, the Superintendant of Finance of the United States (1781–1784), seems to have known nothing about it. Otherwise he could not have described his 1783 NOVA CONSTELLATIO pattern as the first "struck as an American Coin."

It has been argued that the Continental Currency coins, struck in silver, pewter/tin, and brass, were part of a proposed dollar coinage intended to supplement the contemporary paper Continental Currency. The coins, which are roughly the size of a Spanish milled dollar and sometimes described as overstruck on such dollars, replicate the sundial and linked rings vignettes designed by Benjamin Franklin for the paper Continental Currency emissions of February 17, 1776. They also seem to fill the void of the dollar denomination which was missing from the paper Continental Currency printed after May 6, 1776, and before January 14, 1779.

The types, which were also employed for the FUGIO coppers of 1787, feature the sun shining on a sundial with the legends FUGIO ("I [i.e. Time] fly") and MIND YOUR BUSINESS on the obverse. The implication is that Americans should do what is necessary (i.e. to protect their interests and support the Revolution) while there is still time. The reverse depicts thirteen linked rings inscribed with the names of the states in the American Congress and the central legend WE ARE ONE. One variety also bears the secondary inscription EG FECIT ("EG made [it]"). This is believed to be the signature of Elisha Gallaudet, who had engraved the sundial design on the plates used to print the factional paper Continental Currency emission of February 17, 1776.

Of the Continental Currency "dollar" varieties distinguished by Eric Newman ("The 1776 Continental Currency Coinage," *The Coin Collector's Journal* [July-August 1952]: 1–9), the ANS collection only includes two examples of 3-D struck in pewter (Nos. 1–2). Newman 3-G belongs to the second of two groups identified by Michael Hodder ("The Continental Currency Coinage of 1776," in *The American Numismatic Association Centennial Anthology* [Wolfeboro, NH, 1991]: 7–18), which he suggests may have been struck in New York City.

The first coin in the plate was purchased in 1911 from the important Philadelphia dealer, Henry Chapman. It came with an NE shilling, a Pine Tree shilling, a Massachusetts cent and two other coins all for the remarkable price of \$78.92. The second Continental Currency "dollar" was

¹ The commentary and catalog have benefited from discussion with Louis Jordan, and Philip Mossman.

also obtained at a truly bargain price by current market standards. In 1951 it was purchased from the estate of R. D. Allen for \$50.00.

In addition to the authentic specimens, the Society's cabinet also contains two copies produced for the Centennial Exposition of 1876. A copper version was included in the collection formed by Frederick A. Canfield, who is best known for his New Jersey coppers. It and the duplicates from his New Jersey collection were given to the ANS by the New Jersey Historical Society in 1931. A lead example (No. 3) came from the F. Mirdlinger collection, which was donated by his daughter, Mrs. M. Whitehill, in 1941.

Catalog

Newman 3-D

Obv. CONTINENTAL CURRENCY / 1776. Sun shining on sundial; MIND YOUR BUSINESS below and FUGIO and EG FECIT in surrounding band.

Rev. WE ARE ONE surrounded by AMERICAN CONGRESS in band. Thirteen linked rings inscribed with the abbreviated names of the thirteen original Untied States.

Pewter

1. 39mm, 271.6 grains. ANS 1911.85.7.
2. 39mm, 231.7 grains. ANS 1954.95.1.

Centennial Exposition Copies

Obv. CONTINENTAL CURRENCY / 1776. Sun shining on sundial; MIND YOUR BUSINESS below. FUGIO in surrounding band.

Rev. WE ARE ONE surrounded by AMERICAN CONGRESS in band. Thirteen linked rings inscribed with the abbreviated names of the thirteen original Untied States.

Copper

3. 39mm, 656.0 grains. ANS 1931.58.537.

Lead

4. 39mm, 333.9 grains. ANS 1941.40.31.

**CONTINENTAL CURRENCY "DOLLARS" IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY**

Plate I
(Newman 3-G and Centennial Exposition Copies)



1



2



3



4

CONNECTICUT COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate XIII: 1786
(Miller 4.1-G to 5.1-H.1)

by

Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario¹

Introduction

The Confederation period copper coinage of the state of Connecticut was legally struck in New Haven by the Company for Coining Coppers from November 12, 1785, to June 1, 1787. From June 1, 1787, to the Fall of 1788, Connecticut coppers continued to be struck by James Jarvis and Company. The types essentially consisted of modified versions of the royal bust obverse and Britannia reverse familiar from contemporary English halfpence. The Latin regal legends were replaced by new ones that identified the coppers as being issued by the authority of Connecticut (AUCTORI CONNEC) and advertised American independence and liberty (INDE ET LIB). This coinage was popular, spawning imitative issues struck for Vermont and numerous illegal counterfeits. The problem of counterfeiting combined with apparent mint irregularities led to a state inquest in January of 1789. On June 20, 1789, the right to produce state coppers for Connecticut was officially terminated by the federal government.

The collection of Connecticut coppers maintained by the American Numismatic Society may be one of the most complete in existence and contains the vast majority of the die varieties recorded in Henry C. Miller's *The State Coinage of Connecticut* (New York, 1920). The Society's Connecticut holdings are so extensive due to two major gifts in the early twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In 1931, the Frederick Canfield collection of Connecticut coppers (285 pieces) was loaned and subsequently donated to the ANS by the New Jersey Historical Society. In 2005, the American Numismatic Society acquired the Connecticut collection of Edward R. Barnsley (1131 pieces) thanks to the generosity of James C. Spilman and the Colonial Newsletter Foundation.

This thirteenth plate in a series to fully publish the Connecticut coppers in the ANS cabinet features two pieces from the Canfield collection (Nos. 126 and 129) and six from the Barnsley/CNLF gift (Nos. 121–123, 127–128, and 130). Two coins (Nos. 124–125) lack provenance data.

The Canfield coins all have white painted die varieties (PDV) on the obverse giving the respective Miller numbers, although coin no. 126 lacks the letter M in the right field usually included in Canfield PDVs. Coin no. 125 has a very similar PDV, but the obverse designation is curiously given as 4¹¹ rather than the expected 4¹. It too may be a Canfield piece.

¹ The commentary and catalog have benefited from discussion with Randy Clark, Louis Jordan, and Philip Mossman.

Catalog

Obv. Legend as indicated. Laureate and cuirassed bust left, imitating regal halfpence of George II.

Rev. Legend as indicated. Liberty/Columbia/Connecticut seated left on globe, holding olive branch and pole topped by liberty cap; grounded shield beside. In exergue, 1786.

Miller 4.1-G

121. 28mm, 159.8 grains. AUCTORI CONNEC / INDE: -:- ET LIB:. ANS 2005.37.153.
122. 28mm, 143.3 grains. AUCTORI CONNEC / INDE: -:- ET LIB:. ANS 2005.37.427.
123. 28mm, 130.2 grains. AUCTORI CONNEC / INDE: -:- ET LIB:. ANS 2005.37.428.
124. 28mm, 147.6 grains. AUCTORI CONNEC / INDE: -:- ET LIB:. ANS 0000.999.19829.
125. 28mm, 151.0 grains. AUCTORI CONNEC / INDE: -:- ET LIB:. Painted Miller die variety on obverse (4¹¹ G in left field and M on right). ANS 0000.999.19830.

Miller 4.2-R

126. 28mm, 124.5 grains. AUCTORI CONNEC / INDE: ET-LIB:. Painted Miller die variety on obverse (4² R in left field). ANS 1931.58.442.
127. 28mm, 116.2 grains. AUCTORI CONNEC / INDE: ET-LIB:. ANS 2005.37.429.

Miller 4.2-S

128. 28mm, 154.4 grains. AUCTORI CONNEC / INDE: ET-LIB:. ANS 2005.37.430.

Miller 5.1-H.1

129. 29mm, 137.3 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: ET-LIB:. Painted Miller die variety on obverse (5¹ H¹ in left field and M on right). ANS 1931.58.443.
130. 28mm, 157.8 grains. AUCTORI: CONNEC: / INDE: ET-LIB:. ANS 2005.37.431.

**CONNECTICUT COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY**

**Plate XIII: 1786
(Miller 4.1-G to 5.1-H.1)**



121



122



123



124



125



126



127



128



129



130



NEW JERSEY COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate XIII: 1787 (Maris 48-g to 54-k)

by

Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario¹

Introduction

The partnership of Walter Mould, Thomas Goadsby, and Albion Cox received a two-year contract to produce three million copper coins for the state of New Jersey on June 1, 1786. Their coins carried the obverse type of a horse head and plow derived from the state seal and an American shield on the reverse. The legends give the Latin name of the state (NOVA CÆSAREA) and present the national motto of the United States (E PLURIBUS UNUM) for the first time on any coin. By the Fall of 1786 the partners had fallen into disagreement and divided the coinage quota between a mint operated by Goadsby and Cox at Rahway, near Elizabethtown (now Elizabeth), NJ, and another operated by Mould near Morristown, NJ. Further problems developed in 1788. Mould ceased his involvement with the coinage at this time and Cox faced litigation by his creditors and by Goadsby, which resulted in the seizure of the mint equipment. By the middle of the year, the remainder of the coining contract and the Rahway mint equipment had been obtained by Matthias Ogden, the primary mover behind the New Jersey coinage legislation. Despite having access only to dies dated 1786 and 1787, Ogden continued to strike New Jersey coppers at his barn in Elizabethtown until as late as 1790.

The American Numismatic Society's holdings of New Jersey coppers are extensive, thanks to the New Jersey Historical Society's donation of duplicates from the Frederick Canfield collection (24 pieces) in 1931 and the purchase of a large part of the Harry Prescott Clark Beach collection (829 pieces) from Henry Grünthal in 1945. Grünthal, who had studied numismatics in Germany, later went on to become Assistant to the Chief Curator and Curator of European and Modern Coins at the ANS from 1953 to 1973. Most of the die varieties identified by Edward Maris in *A Historic Sketch of the Coins of New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1881) may be found in the ANS collection. For a complete listing of varieties discovered since 1881, see now, Roger Siboni, John Howes, and Buell Ish, *New Jersey State Coppers* (New York, 2013).

On this thirteenth plate in a series to fully publish the New Jersey coppers belonging to the American Numismatic Society, seven (Nos. 121–122, 124, 126, and 128–130) are Beach coins purchased from Grünthal in 1945. The remaining three pieces (Nos. 123, 125, and 127) lack their provenance information.

¹ The commentary and catalog have benefited from discussion with Louis Jordan, Philip Mossman, and Ray Williams.

Catalog

Obv. NOVA CÆSAREA, around. Head of horse right, above plow right (Nos. 121 and 127–130) or left (Nos. 122–126); in exergue, 1787.

Rev. *E*PLURIBUS*UNUM*, around. American shield emblazoned with a field of argent, six pales gules, and a chief azure.

Maris 48-g

121. 27mm, 147.2 grains. ANS 1945.42.717.

Maris 49-f

122. 27mm, 132.2 grains. ANS 1945.42.718.
123. 27mm, 165.2 grains. ANS 0000.999.28486.

Maris 50-f

124. 27mm, 151.7 grains. ANS 1945.42.719.
125. 27mm, 141.6 grains. ANS 0000.999.28487.

Maris 51-g

126. 27mm, 127.9 grains. ANS 1945.42.720.

Maris 52-i

127. 27mm, 123.4 grains. ANS 0000.999.28488.

Maris 53-j

128. 27mm, 157.5 grains. ANS 1945.42.721.

Maris 54-k

129. 28mm, 92.4 grains. ANS 1945.42.722.
130. 28mm, 130.5 grains. ANS 1945.42.723.

**NEW JERSEY COPPERS IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY**

**Plate XIII: 1787
(Maris 48-g to 54-k)**



121



122



123



124



125



126



127



128



129



130



MASSACHUSETTS BAY SILVER IN THE COLLECTION OF THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Plate VI: Oak Tree Shillings and Sixpences (Noe 13 to 16 / Salmon 11-G to 2-B)

by
Oliver D. Hoover; Burlington, Ontario¹

Introduction

On May 26–27, 1652, the Massachusetts General Court issued Acts for the establishment of a silver mint in Boston as a measure of protection against the increasing problem of light weight Spanish-American cobs circulating in Massachusetts Bay. The Boston silversmiths, John Hull and Robert Sanderson were appointed to operate the mint. They were required to produce coins of sterling (.925) fineness in English denominations, but at a reduced weight standard of 72 grains to the shilling. The official weight of the contemporary English shilling was 92.9 grains.

Between 1652 and 1682, Hull and Sanderson struck four series of silver coins for Massachusetts Bay. The earliest of these, produced in June–October 1652, consisted of crude, blank planchets marked with two stamps: NE for New England on the obverse and a value mark in Roman numerals on the reverse. Legislation was passed, on October 19, 1652, to abandon this simple design in favor of a more coin-like design produced by full-size dies. The obverse of the new coinage featured a willow tree, while the English legend, MASATHVSETS IN / NEW ENGLAND AN DOM was placed in the border, broken between the obverse and reverse. The 1652 date of the original mint legislation and the value indicator also appeared in the center of the reverse. The willow tree coinage continued in production until c. 1660 or 1662, when the willow on the obverse was replaced by an oak tree. The change in tree was also accompanied by a change in production technology. While the willow tree coinage had been struck by hand, the new oak tree series was struck in a rocker arm press. In c. 1667, the tree was again changed, this time from an oak to a pine. The pine tree coinage—the most enduring of the Massachusetts silver series—was struck until 1682, when the mint contract expired. Hull died the following year. Although sporadic attempts were made to revive the mint until 1690, these were quashed by the restored Stuart kings, Charles II (1659–1685) and James II (1685–1688), and finally put to rest by the increased value of silver and restored confidence in Spanish-American coins at the end of the 1680s.

The cabinet of the American Numismatic Society is home to some 151 authentic pieces of Massachusetts Bay silver of all four series, as well as a large selection (70 pieces) of electrotypes and fakes. The core of the collection is almost certainly the 51 pieces donated by the prominent New York collector, William B. Osgood Field, in 1946. The ANS collection includes most of the varieties identified by Sydney P. Noe in his three major studies: *The New England and Willow Tree Coinage* (1943), *The Oak Tree Coinage of Massachusetts* (1947), and *The Pine Tree Coinage of Massachusetts* (1952), as well as in Christopher Salmon's recent review and reassessment of the coinage, *The Silver Coins of Massachusetts* (2011).

This sixth plate in a series to fully publish the Massachusetts Bay silver coins belonging to the

¹ The commentary and catalog have benefited from discussion with Louis Jordan, Philip Mossman, and Christopher Salmon.

American Numismatic Society features five Oak Tree shillings and three Oak Tree sixpences. Two pieces (Nos. 46 and 52) come from the Osgood Field gift, but the majority of the coins entered the Society's cabinet through purchase. One piece (No. 53) was bought from Charles Würtzbach in 1942, while coin no. 46 was purchased with another Massachusetts shilling, two sixpences and a threepence from C. P. Knoth in 1943, all for \$141.75. Another (No. 51) was bought from Stack's together with another Massachusetts shilling, a sixpence, and a three-pence for \$164.50 in 1944. Coin no. 47 came with seven other shillings from the famous New Netherland Coin Company for \$123.84 in 1951. A single shilling (No. 48) was purchased from the Library of the American Philosophical Library for \$1,668.80 in 1973. The drastic shift in prices between the 1940s and the early 1970s serves to illustrate the increased interest in and the aggressive marketing of Massachusetts silver (and other colonial coin series) that began in the 1950s and 1960s.

Coin no. 50, which was donated by Joseph R. Lasser in 1990, is especially notable. Not only is it a twopenny fraction cut from a sixpence, but it is one of the Massachusetts silver coins recovered from the wreck of the HMS *Feversham*. This 32-gun fifth-rate warship was carrying pay for the disastrous Walker Expedition against Quebec when it was shipwrecked near Louisbourg on October 7, 1711.

Catalog

Shillings

Obv. Oak tree. MASATHVSETS·IN· around.

Rev. 1652 XII in center. NEWENGLAND·AN·DOM· around.

Noe 13/Salmon 11-G

- 46. 35mm, 72.3 grains. ANS 1946.89.89.
- 47. 35mm, 71.9 grains. ANS 1951.155.7.
- 48. 35mm, 72.9 grains. ANS 1973.177.22.

Noe 14/Salmon 11a-Gi

- 49. 35mm, 71.1 grains. ANS 1943.111.4.
- 50. 17mm, 12.4 grains. Twopence cut from shilling. ANS 1990.49.7.

Sixpences

Obv. Oak tree. MASATHVSETS* around.

Rev. 1652 VI in center. IN NEWENGLAND·ANO* around.

Noe 16/Salmon 1-A

- 51. 28mm, 33.6 grains. ANS 1944.94.3.
- 52. 28mm, 35.0 grains. ANS 1946.89.75.

Noe 20/Salmon 2-B

- 53. 28mm, 34.1 grains. ANS 1942.54.6.

**MASSACHUSETTS BAY SILVER IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY**

**Plate VI: Oak Tree Shillings and Sixpences
(Noe 13 to 16 / Salmon 11-G to 2-B)**



46



47



48



49



50



51



52



53



